2. Ornamented eating dish (pininga) provided with a foot. Achuares. Rio Pastaza.

1: Karsten--100
116, 415, 531

(1916-18) (1928-29) 1935

Jivaro

Fig. 1. Clay dish (pininga) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

I. Karsten--100
116, 415, 931

Fig. 2. Clay dish (pinings) for drinking manioc-beer, ornamented inside (about 1/2).

"... the Jibaros very seldom embellish their clay vessels with ornamental designs or patterns. The only exception I have noticed to this rule, for instance among the Upano and the Santiago tribes, are certain very vague triangular ornaments applied in dark brown colour inside the yukuńda after they have been painted black with sehańa. It is otherwise with the Achuares on the Pastaza, whose ceramics differ in many respects from those I have found among other Jibaro tribes. Thus the small round clay dishes or cups standing on a foot which are seen on Pl. XVIII, 5. and 6., are not to be met with among any other Jibaro tribe and are, I believe, unique in South America. The Achuares told me that they were formerly used by them as food-plates; now they were no longer used, but had still been preserved as the Indians keep many old things which have gone out of fashion. Upon these plates the Jibaro women placed different kinds of food when serving their men: on one some boiled manioc was placed, on another some fish, on a third some boiled Indian pepper, etc. As appears from the picture, the eating-cups were painted both inside and outside. Upon a brown bottom, produced by painting the vessel with roucou, [102] certain patterns were applied in white. The use of a white clay--a clay which, as far as I know, only exists in the country of these Indians --is a peculiarity in the ornamental art of the Achuares; at any rate I have not seen it anywhere else in Eastern Ecuador or Peru.

In the same way the Indians paint the shallow dishes represented on Pl. XIX, 1. and

2. As is seen, however, these are only ornamented inside, the designs being painted with white clay. The patterns are those customary among the Jibaros, although the technique for painting them is partly different. The designs appearing in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and Canelos Indians are in fact always the same: they either represent human spirits, certain dangerous snakes, certain birds, especially the macaw, or certain insects, as for instance butterflies, millepedes, and scorpions. As to the snakes, such species are mostly represented which for one reason or another particularly inspire the Indians with fear. The snake that plays the most important part in the ornamental art of the Indians --being represented especially on clay vessels and in facial paintings, etc. --is the great water boa or anaconda (Eunectus murinus). Thus the broad snake-like figures appearing in the shallow dish in Plate XIX, 2, represent the anaconda (pangi), whereas the designs on the other dish (Pl. XIX, 1), and the snake-like figure encircling the outer border of the painted clay cup in Pl. XVIII, 6, represent the very venomous snake ekis (Lachesis, called yamuńga in the Jibaro language). On the foot of the same cup among other things a human spirit and a millepede are represented. =

1: Karsten--102
116, 415, 531

Jivaro

Fig. 1. Big ornamental clay pot for the keeping of the fermented manioc substance. Canelos Indians. Rio Bobonaza. (about 1/10).

Fig. 2. An ornamental clay pot. Canelos Indians. (about 1/2).

"Like the Achuares, the CANELOS INDIANS nearly always apply ornamental designs to their clay vessels, but their ornamental art is easily distinguished from that of the Achuares and even the clay they use is different. The big jars in which they keep the masticated manioc substance (asua) are generally without ornaments and only have the outside painted red with roucou (Bixa orellana). There are, however, exceptions to this rule, as appears from the beautiful, ornamented jar represented on Pl. XX, 1. Among the ornamental designs figures of snakes predominate, the great anaconda (amarun) being the reptile most often represented. Even human spirits with the arms stretched out, birds, tortoises, and certain poisonous insects are represented much in the same way as among the Achuares. Generally the Indians are themselves able to tell which particular reptile, bird, etc. a certain figure represents. Thus the women at once informed me that the brown rings [103] which encircle the big jar on Pl. XX, 1. represent the spots of the great boa, amarun, a monster which has struck the imagination of the primitive Indians more than any other member of the animal world. The smaller dishes from which the manioc-beer is drunk are nearly always ornamented with figures in black or brown colour. White designs are unknown, and the white clay used for the purpose by the Achuares does not exist at all at Canelos. Generally the outside is ornamented; more rarely the dishes have ornamental patterns inside and when they have,

they are always simpler. In the smaller dishes also the snake patterns predominate, poisonous snakes like the Lachesis (called pitalaía by the Canelos Indians) being most often represented. These dishes are called mucahua by the Indians. (See Pl. XIX, 3. 4. 5).

Of particular interest is the small but elaborately ornamented clay dish represented in Pl. XX, 3. and 4. Diminutive cups or dishes of this kind are used by the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians only at the great feasts, a special sacred drink being drunk by means of these small cups. How the manioc-wine is prepared and how it is consumed at the end of the most important feasts will appear from descriptions given later. I only add in this connection that the magical ideas which are associated with the Indian clay vessels in general, appear among other things from the extraordinary care with which the small clay cups used for the drinking of manioc-wine are made and ornamented. The same may be said of the small clay pot in which the Jibaros keep the tobacco juice which is ceremonially given to the principal persons at the great feasts. The vessels used on these occasions must be specially made and painted for each feast, and they must be made by the old woman, the 'priestess', who administers the sacred drinks at the feasts. Not only these, but also the most important of other clay vessels used at the religious feasts have to be specially made.

To the rule that clay vessels shall be made by the women there is, as far as I know,

only one exception: the cooking-pots in which the arrow-poison is boiled must be made by the poison-cook himself, who is a kind of medicine-man. The same holds true of the small pots in which the prepared arrow-poison is kept. As we shall see later on, no woman is allowed to come into any contact with the arrow-poison or the 'sacred' vessels used for its preparation."

I: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 286, 331 (1928-29)

"....a few words may be said about the patterns woven in the stuff. The loin-cloths of the men (itipi) and the women's taraćhi in fact always show certain ornamental patterns which are rather stereotyped, being always in the main the same. They form different systems of colours which are distinguished from one another by their names.

The colour or colours which occupy a central place in a bigger system are underlined by me. These systems are the following:

The arrangement of colours which in the section of the loin-cloth represented in Plate XXI, 1. is found on the extreme left, in the middle, and on the extreme right, and is marked with the letter a, consists of the colours black + reddish brown + black-white-black-white + reddish brown + black and is by the Jibaros called puítsah.

The arrangement of colours which consists of white (or light red) + brown + black + brown + white (or light red) is called yambítsa hĩ ('the pigeon's eye'). (1) As appears from the picture, these arrangements are the most common in the loin-cloth, and they are here marked with the letter b.

"1. The eye of the pigeon is black, and is surrounded by feathers in brown and white colour."

1: Karsten--105-106 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 286, 531 (1928-29)

The arrangement of colours which is marked with the letter c and consists of alternate black and reddish brown stripes is called yauaḱina. [106] Some of the yauaḱina arrangements, as we find, are broader and consist of seven black or brown stripes. These are called uṅta yauaḱina ('the big yauaḱina'), whereas the narrower yauaḱina arrangements, consisting of five black or brown stripes, are called uchichi yauaḱina ('the little yauaḱina'). They are in the picture marked with c, 1 and c, 2 respectively.

The white, undyed yarn is by the Jibaros called puísuh. Sometimes it is slightly coloured with roucou so that it is rather light red or yellow than white, as in the picture.

These colour arrangements are found on all original itipi. Like the 'pigeon's eye', so the rest of the designs are no doubt taken directly from nature. Thus the design called puítsah evidently denotes a snake's skin, but I have not received positive information on this point. The Jibaro Indians themselves apparently ascribe great importance to them. When the family father is at leisure in the afternoon, and while he is sitting after the day's work is finished, waiting for the meal to be brought by the women, he may sometimes be seen singing at a low voice and in a special tune passing with his fingers along the different designs woven in his itipi and repeating their names.

especially the name of the 'pigeon's eye' (yambitea hi). Just as if the designs were to him a kind of verse. That the itipi designs have a magical or mysterious significance may be taken as certain, considering that most other ornamental designs of the Jibaroe have such a significance: they are believed to keep off evil spirits, to give the body strength, and so forth. I shall have an opportunity to point out this again in the part dealing with religion."

1: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 301, 531 (1928-29)

".....I shall only include here a few words about a small object which is partly regarded as an ornament and partly serves a practical purpose, namely, the comb, timaśhi. The Jibaro comb is a real piece of art that cannot be described in detail. It is made of a special kind of cane growing on the river bank, called pata, which is carved into a number of tiny sticks. These are connected with one another by means of other parallel transverse sticks which are fastened to the prongs by means of cotton thread, the intermediate space between the latter being embroidered in various triangular and other patterns of the same kind as the Indians put on their face and clay vessels.

The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--464 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
531 (1928-29)

"the Jibaros are in the habit of painting upon the doors small human figures with the hands stretched out, figures of snakes, birds, etc. (See Pl. XVII, 2). The Jibaros, as we have seen, not only use primitive doors consisting of a few poles by means of which the entrance is shut, but also doors more resembling those of civilized peoples. The figures in question, I was informed, represent the souls of the departed (wakáni) and are by no means only decorations."

1: Karsten--490-491 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"The idea that the spirits can be controlled by imitating them in their external appearance, is also conspicuous in the ornamental designs applied to the body and to certain objects, for instance the doors of the houses, shields, and clay vessels. All these designs are borrowed from the animal world, and it is interesting to note that they invariably represent dangerous animals, or animals in which evil spirits are thought to appear. How the Indians try to keep off the spirits of the departed or other spirits from their houses by painting their figures on the door, has been shown before (Pl. XVII, 2 and p. 454). The figures appearing on the door are characteristic of the ornamental art of the Jibaros. The most conspicuous of them are human spirits, represented in the usual way with the arms stretched out. The small circles, with [491]a point in the middle are also very common. It took me long to find out the real significance of this pattern, even after I had been informed that it was thought to keep off evil spirits. On inquiry, I was simply told that the small circles represented yusa. By the name yusa the Indians denote the big macaw (Arara hyacinthinus) which is one of their principal bird demons, but there is little resemblance between such a little circle and the beautiful parrot. We get the solution of the riddle when we look at the Indian drawing of a macaw found on Fig. 20, b (p. 494). The Indians paint the eyes of the bird separately, and the small circles are precisely identical with the eyes of the macaw. To the Indian mind special importance is attached to them, because in the eyes the

power of the demoniacal bird is concentrated. Hence the eyes occur as independent magical ornaments in the art of the Indians.

The circle pattern, however, occurs in two forms and has two significations: it not only represents the eye of the macaw but also the round black spots on the skin of the anaconda. Frequently the pattern occurs as two concentric circles with a black spot in the middle (Fig. 20, c). The eyes of the macaw in fact are surrounded by concentric rings; but the pattern may represent the spots of the anaconda as well. What these spots are like in reality, and how faithfully the Indians represent them in their art, will be clear when we compare the cincture made of an anaconda's skin on Pl. XXI, 3 with the patterns engraved on the instrument payánga, depicted on p. 311. Generally the Indians are, in each particular case, able to explain whether the pattern in question represents the magical bird or the huge reptile. As to the patterns engraved on the payánga, for instance, they expressly declared that they represent the spots of the anaconda (pangi), which they also apply to the face, to shields when they are ornamented, and so forth."

1: Karsten--491-492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 825 (1928-29)

"The giant serpent, especially the water boa or anaconda (Eunectes murinus), is one of the animal beings most frequently represented in the ornamental art of the Jibaros, and it is natural to connect this fact with the other fact that it is one of the most dreaded animal demons known to the Indians. Thus the designs painted on the beautiful big clay vessel from Canelos depicted on Pl. XX, 1, represent the giant snake, not however the water boa or anaconda, but the boa constrictor, a comparatively rare reptile in Western Amazonas and much more rarely represented in the Indian art than the water boa. The Canelos Indians call this reptile amárun and use the same name for the orna-
[492] ment. Another snake demon, almost equally often represented, is the Lachesis, one of the most common and most venomous snakes in the whole of South America. It occurs as an ornament for instance on the clay dishes on Pls. XVIII, 6., XIX, 1., and XX, 2. and is also applied to the face (Fig. 18, d, p. 493)."

1: Karsten--492 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 531, 789 (1928-29)

"That the Indians represent the most dreaded animal demons in their ornamental art, applying their figures even to eating and drinking vessels, is a significant fact which suggests that certain mysterious ideas are connected both with the clay vessels and the ornaments. As I have pointed out before, there is an interesting connection between a woman, who alone has to make the the clay vessels, and the earth and clay of which they are made. The clay vessel, according to the idea of the Indians, 'is a woman'. When we further consider the ceremonial character which the drinking of fermented and narcotic drinks assumes at the great feasts, we understand that a whole primitive 'philosophy' underlies both the making of clay vessels and their use."

1: Karsten--492-495 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 531, 789, 302 (1928-29)

"I further wish to draw attention to the Indian shields depicted on Plate XXV, 1. and 2. The first one, covered with all sorts of ornaments on the outside, is a unique piece of art, being a kind of shield which was used formerly and is nowadays encountered nowhere. In addition to the big snake-like rings, there are particularly two patterns which dominate: the pattern representing a human spirit on p. 494 (Fig. 20, f), and the small concentric circles with a point in the middle just described by me, and which in this case represent the giant serpent (pangi). The pangi may, in general, be said to be the special 'symbol' of the Jibaro warrior. When he goes out on a war expedition he also paints the characteristic black spots of the reptile on his face, and at the great victory-feast the same ornaments are stamped on his whole body and his arms by means of the instrument called payánga. Armed with a shield which is ornamented in the way described, the Jibaro warrior is believed to have terrible power and his mere appearance will inspire the enemy with fear.

The ornamental painting of the face and of the body has a similar magical significance, as ought to have appeared from previous state-[495]ments. In Fig. 18, a-d and in Fig. 19, a-e, we see all the different 'geometrical' ornaments with which the Jibaros are in the habit of painting the face. All of them, according to the Indians, denote snakes. Similarly in Fig, 20 all, except the figure of the jaguar (a), occur in the ornamental art. As to figures of human spirits (d, e, and f), the Indians not only apply them to the face,

to clay vessels, and to other belongings, but also to objects of nature. The only rock-engravings I came across during my travels in Western Amazonas were five human spirits engraved on a high barranca at the middle Rio Bobonaza. They had been done there by Indians from Canelos shortly before I went down the river in 1917, and my Indians were also able to tell me their history. A few years previously two hostile parties of rubber collectors had met at this very place in the river and engaged in a battle for the sake of the caoutchouc and their peons, and in that battle five of the men had been killed. The incident had made a deep impression upon the Indians who fancied that the spirits of the dead rubber collectors haunted the place. This was the reason why they had engraved figures of their spirits on the high rocky barranca. They evidently had the idea that in this way the dreaded ghosts could be kept at bay."

26: Brüning--52 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 531, 777

In the house in Huavico, which at that time was used by a rubber trader, though it had originally belonged to the Indians, I noticed several grotesquely painted black human figures on the frame which connects the main uprights. The Indians explained that this was a preventive measure against worm holes.

28: Tessman--355 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 411, 531

The spear (Aguaruna: nánki, Atschual: nángi) is their main weapon of war. It has an iron point, which is as a rule imported from Ecuador. Formerly they may have had a wooden point (palm-wood). The shaft (at least the Makas shaft) is a fine piece of craftsmanship (see Plate 61). I am inclined to regard these shafts of a brightly shining brownish-red and decorated with carved patterns the best artistic accomplishment of the Chiwaros. Next-highest I rate the execution of the inside of their bowl-plates, and third in line of artistic achievement are the feathered circlets and the other body ornaments. There are also spears made of one piece of wood (see Plate 65, upper right).

In his book Blood Revenge etc. Karsten gives a description of war and war methods. Karsten tells us that the Chiwaros used to have spears with bone-points. The bone was later replaced by iron.

They do not have slings for the hurling of arrows. No slings at all. No clubs. A long time ago they started to import a dagger with short haft and a long, wide iron blade. (See Plate 59, Fig. 6) The dagger is worn in a scabbard on a belt. Two hollowed-out pieces of wood form the scabbard.

The Aguarunas, Uambisas and Makas Indians have a round shield (tandara, according to Karsten, see his Blood Revenge, Plate 4, right). It is not decorated with feathers. The wood is neither polished nor decorated. It gives the impression three disks were placed one on top of the other, the one in the middle being the smallest.

/331 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side fold. /332/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a band provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with bird fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and resists even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tucum) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are preferably used.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stone to crush maize for chick feed. The wooden planting and digging sticks used in agricultural work have been mentioned previously.

Vessels are made by the women from clay and gourds. All pottery is manufactured by the method of coil construction and vessels are finished by scraping. Three kinds of clay are used for different types of vessels. Carbonized bark of the *apáiawe* tree is powdered for tempering material in food bowls, while sand temper is used in drinking bowls, fermentation jars, and cooking jars. All vessels except cooking jars are coated with red achiote or black beeswax after firing. Only the interiors of large drinking bowls, the exteriors of miniature drinking bowls, and the interior necks of fermentation jars are ever decorated. Even then, such decoration is usually simple and hastily made, often consisting of unelaborated irregular zigzag and dot patterns in vegetal paint. The one apparent exception is the miniature drinking bowls, which sometimes have intricate and well-executed designs. These, however, are obtained by trade from the Canelos tribe to the north.

The fermentation jars are the largest vessels made, averaging about ten to thirteen gallons in capacity. These jars, covered with a drinking bowl or banana leaf, serve to store the fermenting manioc or chonta palm fruit beer. Next in size are the cooking jars, the largest of which are employed to boil the hallucinogenic *Banisteriopsis* for resident or visiting shamans. The other chief ceramic vessels are food-serving bowls and the two sizes of drinking bowls. Small pottery or gourd jars serve to store the curare blowgun dart poison. One special miniature pottery bowl is used by old men to brew an emetic tea from *Ilex* sp. leaves.

Large long-handled gourds hold water for cooking and